



This Is The Beginning, Not The End...

On September 28th, the last of the resisting Mohawk people left the Kanesatake Treatment Centre, bringing an end to the 11-week standoff between the Mohawk Nation and their allies, and state security forces. Before leaving to be taken to a nearby military base and then on to prosecution, Mohawks opted to burn their weapons and communication equipment rather than have them fall into the hands of enemy forces. At this point, there is little information on the development of the states' prosecution of the Mohawks and their allies as all those involved in the trials are forbidden to discuss it publicly. What is presently known, is that at least 4 Warriors are being detained and have been denied bail. We will print information on the trial and support organizing for Mohawk defendants as we receive it.

This special bulletin of ARM THE SPIRIT is devoted to all those presently facing state prosecution for defending their communities and advancing the struggle of Native sovereignty. The bulk of this issue we present as the second half of a chronology of events surrounding the struggle in Mohawk Nation territories; the first appears in our last issue. It is hoped that together they will provide a fairly detailed account of events and insight into the states' response to such a situation.

The standoff began in the early morning hours of July 11, 1990 when Mohawks in Kanesatake successfully resisted a police assault on the barricades they had erected four months earlier to halt the expansion of a golf course onto their land. Later that day, in an act of solidarity, the Mohawks of Kahnawake blockaded all access routes to the territory, including the Mercier Bridge, a major commuter link to the city of Montreal.

Since then, Mohawks in both territories have been forced to defend their communities against a massive counter-insurgency campaign waged by the government. This campaign involved a careful manipulation of the press and a barrage of physical assaults, culminating in the military invasion of both territories.

One aspect of the state disinformation campaign has been a constant attempt to isolate and criminalize the Warriors of the Mohawk Nation. Throughout the standoff the media presented the Mohawk community as being fundamentally divided between Warriors, who they characterized as extremists and criminals, and more moderate Mohawks, who they presented as following Warrior demands out of fear. The purpose of this strategy was twofold. By depicting the Mohawk communities as under siege by Warriors, the government attempted to create a justification for a military invasion as well as introduce an element of self-doubt into the Mohawk communities themselves, by which they could be divided. Despite this, Mohawks behind the barricades have been united in resisting the states' war on them.

The state also enlisted the media in its efforts to place blame on Mohawks for failing to reach a peaceful solution. Government spokespeople attributed this to what they said were new preconditions constantly being set by Mohawks for the continuance of negotiations. However, in reality, nothing could be further from the truth. Throughout the standoff, Mohawks maintained the same three basic preconditions for negotiations; unimpeded access of food, medical supplies and other



Mohawks posing for a picture just before leaving the Treatment Centre.

basic necessities; unrestricted access of Native advisors and spiritual leaders to Mohawk communities; and that a team of international observers be present at both Mohawk territories throughout the negotiating process to monitor aggression by state forces. It has been state aggression and blatant violation of these preconditions that has rendered a peaceful solution impossible. Early agreements to have police presence reduced were never met. State forces have consistently blocked access of food and much-needed medical supplies and have sabotaged talks by refusing to let key negotiators behind lines. In many cases, people trying to enter or leave Mohawk territories have been illegally detained and subjected to physical abuse.

As well, police and military allowed racists to attack Mohawk people with impunity. This has particularly been the case for the Mohawks of Kahnawake. In one instance, police purposely stalled Mohawk families attempting to leave Kahnawake, allowing a small group of racist demonstrators gathering outside the territory to grow into a large crowd. When Mohawks attempted to leave, their cars were attacked with a hail of rocks and bottles, leaving one Mohawk, Joe Armstrong, dead and several others injured. Police stood by and watched.

Police and military complicity in racist attacks extends even further. Throughout the standoff state forces have done little while racists, sometimes armed with baseball bats, have prevented food and medical supplies from entering Kahnawake. As well, ex- and off-duty police have been identified as being among the most militant and violent of the racist demonstrators who had gathered almost nightly in Chateaugay. It is in this climate that Mohawks fear reprisals for their actions subsequent to the ending of the standoff.

The state's unwillingness to meet preconditions throughout the standoff is indication that they had no intention of negotiating from the beginning. Rather,

they preferred to opt for a strategy based on stalling of negotiations while carrying out a carefully orchestrated disinformation campaign aimed at building sentiment which would help justify a military invasion. This was accompanied by constant physical attacks aimed at pressuring Mohawks into submission without creating any martyrs.

On September 1, with the Mercier Bridge barricades in the process of coming down, it became apparent that the state felt the conditions created by this and their long disinformation campaign would allow for a full-scale military assault on the Mohawk territories. That same day a major military/police force, equipped with heavy weaponry, vehicles and air support, invaded Kanesatake, firing shots as they advanced. A few days later, a combined military/police force invaded Kahnawake brutalizing Mohawks, injuring a total of 3. State forces didn't maintain a strong presence in Kahnawake until September 18 when they invaded once again, this time under the pretext of searching for weapons. Soldiers moved in issuing gunfire and tear gas, forcing dozens of Mohawk people, seeking refuge, into frigid St. Lawrence River waters.

In Kanesatake, the days that followed the initial attack saw the military employ every tactic they could to subdue the Mohawks. As the military advanced, soldiers physically assaulted Mohawk people. In one attack a 51-year-old man was beaten so badly that he required immediate hospital care. Meanwhile, police created a virtual police state of the surrounding area, setting up check points, closing access to a peace camp where people had gathered in solidarity, and carrying out numerous raids on buildings where some Mohawks had taken shelter amidst the army assault.

Once the military had surrounded the Treatment Centre where Mohawks had retreated to, they intensi-

continued on the back page

JULY 30

In keeping with the government's media campaign aimed at portraying the Mohawk people as unreasonable and unwilling to negotiate, the Quebec Minister of Native Affairs releases a statement claiming the government has met all preconditions for the resumption of negotiations and that the onus now lies with the Mohawks to resume talks. Mohawks respond by stating that preconditions have not been met as police continue to disrupt the access of food, medical supplies and Native advisors behind barricades and that international observers are not in present in Kahnawake and Kanesatake.

Across Canada, Natives take action in solidarity with Mohawks and to bring attention to their own land claim struggles.

Micmacs from the Eel Bar River Band abandon their blockade of Highway 134 after the government agrees, in writing, to meet with them within one month to discuss their land claims and other grievances. The blockade, constructed out of cars and large logs, had been erected Saturday where the highway enters the reserve.

AUGUST 1, 1990

A large crowd of angry Chateauguay residents gather in the streets to protest the Mohawk blockade of the Mercier Bridge demanding that the army be brought in.

In Oka, a local non-Native merchant has his store vandalized after attending a town meeting and voicing his support of the Mohawks.

Because unlimited access by the media inside the Kanesatake barricade is demoralizing, Mohawks decide to return the relationship to a more formal one and limit access to specific areas. As a result, the media withdraws, citing, falsely, the barring of the Montreal Gazette as part of the reason (the Montreal Gazette is barred from Kahnawake and Kanesatake because of its racist editorial policies).

AUGUST 2, 1990

Quebec Premier Bourassa holds a news conference alongside representatives of the Assembly of First Nations to announce the Quebec government's acceptance of all the Assembly of First Nations' (AFN) preconditions to resume negotiations on the dismantling of Mohawk barricades.

Quebec Provincial Police (QPP), armed with search warrants, enter major tv stations and seize videotapes containing footage of the July 11 police assault on Kanesatake, particularly that of "masked and armed individuals attacking vehicles".

Journalists covering the standoff grow increasingly frustrated at the lack of access behind the barricades. Mohawk representatives meet with reporters to explain that many Warriors worry about the media distorting their stories as they felt wronged by journalists covering the pro- and anti-gambling conflict in Akwasasne.

AUGUST 3, 1990

In order to increase anti-Native sentiment, Chateauguay residents block rush-hour traffic on the nearby Champlain bridge. The mob claimed this action was to pressure the government into taking action against the Native blockade of the Mercier bridge.

AUGUST 5, 1990

Premier Bourassa issues an ultimatum to Mohawks to return to the negotiating table within 48 hours or the province will take appropriate action.

Canadian representatives continue to state that they have met preconditions for the continuing of negotiations, although Natives say it is simply not true. Natives reiterate their three preconditions as a) food,

water, clothing and medical supplies must flow freely into the 2 reserves; b) legal advisors, Clan mothers and spiritual leaders must have free access and no longer face harassment upon entering and leaving the reserves; and c) international observers, to ensure impartiality, must be present. Natives state if these preconditions are not met within the threatened 48 hours they will have no other choice but to protect and defend their barricades.

In an attempt to re-establish good relations with the media, Natives issue some reasonable guidelines for the press to follow. Guidelines include: setting appointments for interviews; no media attendance at public meetings, unless invited; having the media guided by a member of the media relations team; and requesting they stay back of restricted areas.

AUGUST 6, 1990

Mohawks state they will ignore the ultimatum and denounce it as a threat.

Frustrated commuters continue to stage blockades of their own to show their anger at government inaction and, again, to build anti-native sentiment. At anti-native protests in Chateauguay, literature and evidence was collected which confirms the organizing of the Ku Klux Klan.

AUGUST 7, 1990

The hour of Bourassa's ultimatum passes with no action seen on the part of the government or police. Dozens of Oka residents flee the town fearing a violent showdown.

AUGUST 8, 1990

Premier Bourassa calls in the army under the pretense of "ensuring public safety" and as a back-up for the Surete du Quebec (SQ - Quebec police).

AUGUST 11, 1990

Natives, mostly Ojibwa, blockade 2 Canadian National Railway lines stretching across their territory in Longlac, Ontario demanding that the government address their land claims.

AUGUST 12, 1990

At about 10:00 pm, a police force, comprised of QPP and Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP - Canadian police force) attack an anti-Native demonstration of 2000 people at the Mercier Bridge blockade with tear gas.

Police violently attack another demonstration on a drawbridge elsewhere over the St. Lawrence Seaway. This was also a protest against continued Native blockades. 150 riot gear clad cops charge demonstrators pinning them to the ground and kicking them repeatedly. Others are hit with clubs and police damage cars used by protesters to block the narrow bridge. Eight people are arrested. About 200 people, some armed with baseball bats, follow police and the arrested to the police station where they destroy two squad cars and brake windows in the station.

An agreement is signed on the 3 preconditions for negotiations and talks resume. A priority and first item on the agenda is the terms by which police and army may be withdrawn from Kahnawake and Kanesatake.

AUGUST 13, 1990

Demos against the Mercier Bridge blockade continue with confrontations between police and protestors leading to over 2 dozen arrests. Once again, the police use tear gas to quell rioters.

200 Native leaders from across Canada attempt to crash the Premier's annual conference in Winnipeg but are prevented from entering by riot-gear-clad police.

A few off-duty police and ex-police officers are identified as among the more violent racist demonstrators in Chateauguay.

AUGUST 14

More than 2,600 Canadian soldiers in a convoy of 1,144 military vehicles take position near Kahnawake and Kanesatake. The troops move into 4 locations: St. Benoit and Blainville, within 20 km of Oka, St. Remi, 20 km south of Kahnawake; and Farnham, 60 km south east of Kahnawake.

Anti-blockade demonstrators clash with police again.

AUGUST 15

Military presence at Kahnawake and Kanesatake is clearly not intended to control civil unrest as previously stated. Throughout the areas, armed forces are backed by 60 armored personnel carriers, 20 armored vehicles equipped with heavy plows, 20 armored rocket launchers and more with helicopter gunships to provide air support. Certainly the objective is to threaten and ultimately assault the Mohawk peoples in the 2 areas.

A heavily armed 6-person reconnaissance team from the Canadian Army comes close to provoking armed confrontation on the perimeter of the Oka golf course. The incident was immediately reported to observers from the International Human Rights Commission and a formal complaint will be lodged.

Previously, military spotter planes and helicopters armed with heavy-calibre machine guns are sighted. Upon questioning the Assistant Deputy Minister states that these military acts are administrative.

AUGUST 16

Negotiations to end the standoff are moved to a secret location at Mohawks request to avoid continued harassment by reporters.

A spokesperson for CN Rail requests Ontario Provincial Police (OPP) intervention to end a rail blockade by Ojibwa natives in Longlac, Ontario. The OPP refuses to intervene while negotiations between the Ojibwa and government officials are taking place.

AUGUST 17

General John de Chastelain announces that army will replace police at both barricades at the request of Premier Bourassa.

CN seeks Supreme Court injunction to remove rail blockade by Ojibwa in Longlac.

The Pic Mobert Band blockades a CP Rail line near White River, 300 km northwester of Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario.

AUGUST 18

Supreme Court grants CN Rail request for an injunction ordering Ojibwa to remove their rail blockade in Longlac. Ojibwa natives refuse to dismantle the blockade.

Brigadier General Armand Roy, Commander of the 5th Mechanized Brigade announces he has given orders to over 1,400 soldiers to prepare to replace QPP at both barricades.

AUGUST 19

Under threat of imminent attack by OPP, Ojibwa natives dismantle their rail barricade as an act of good faith.

AUGUST 20

Army moves in to replace police at Mercier Bridge barricades. Police barricades are dismantled and the army positions armored vehicles, equipped with heavy calibre machine guns and rocket launchers about 100 metres away from the Mohawk barricade. Earth movers are positioned behind the armored vehicles and soldiers dig trenches and set up sand bag barricades. Similar operations take place in 5 other locations around Kahnawake.

In Kanesatake, Mohawks suspend negotiations

after it is learned that the army intends to extend their perimeter into the demilitarized zone separating both barricades.

The Pic Mobert Band receives a court injunction to dismantle their 4-day old barricade.

AUGUST 21

Just as the Pic Mobert Band blockade of the CP rail line in White River is coming down and trains are once again beginning to move, natives on the Pay Plat Native territory (120 km northeast of Thunder Bay) erect a barricade on CP Rail's main line, effectively bringing trains to a halt once again. CP Rail immediately seeks a court injunction to have the blockade removed.

AUGUST 22

An ambulance transporting a Mohawk womyn experiencing serious complications after early morning childbirth, and her newborn, is stopped by a racist mob while attempting to cross the Mercier Bridge en route to a hospital in Montreal. The mob demands to see inside the ambulance for proof of the legitimacy of the emergency. After about an hour of delay, during which time the womyn is severely hemorrhaging, the ambulance is allowed to pass through on to the Bridge where she is transferred to a Montreal ambulance.

At approximately 4:15 pm, 8 Kahnawake Mohawks returning from work arrive at the barricade at Route 207 only to find a crowd of racist demonstrators. In order to avoid incident, the Mohawks decide to proceed to the access route to Kahnawake on Highway 132. However, they arrive at this access point only to find another racist mob. Here the Mohawks attempt entry into their territory. As they pass the crowd, a rock is thrown at the lead Mohawk vehicle. The vehicle stops, the men get out and a fight ensues. The SQ observe the racist attack from inside their cars and do nothing. Three or four army soldiers approach the Mohawks and tell them to enter the neutral zone. The soldiers then take the Mohawks identification cards and give them to the SQ. During this time, a representative of the Kahnawake justice committee arrives and informs the Mohawk men that the SQ has laid 8 charges against them. At this time, the SQ insists they are under arrest. Three of the men resist and cross over Mohawk barricades. The other five are taken into custody.

Later, in Chateaugay, a racist mob attacks a Vancouver-based photographer of Mexican descent, mistakenly believing he is a Mohawk. The mob kicks and spits on him shouting racist slurs and forces him to expose his film.

AUGUST 23

In an early morning manoeuvre, the army advances its military position 1-1/2 km closer to the western front of Kanesatake.

At 9:30 am, a bus transporting Mohawk negotiators to a Trapist Monastery in the town of Oka is surrounded by 4 army tanks and 60 calibre guns are aimed in at the occupants.

Another group of negotiators from the Akwasasne Mohawk territory are also detained and refused access to the area.

AUGUST 24

Negotiations enter a critical stage as representatives specifically address the removal of barricades in Kahnawake and Kanesatake

Racist mobs, some armed with baseball bats and iron bars gather around Kahnawake and prevent food and medical supplies from entering the territory.

In Kanesatake, the army advances its position within 20 km of Mohawk barricades jeopardizing deli-

cate negotiations.

AUGUST 25

Negotiations are suspended as the government continues to refuse to recognize Mohawks as members of a sovereign nation.

AUGUST 26

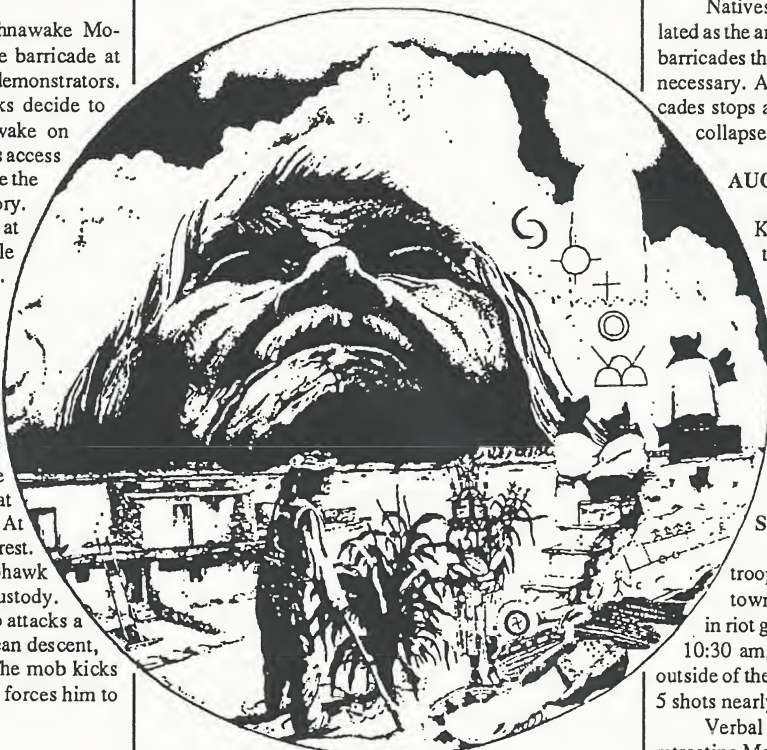
Mohawks begin to consider opening up a lane on the Mercier Bridge to allow the passage of traffic.

Canadian troops and QPP stand by as non-Native mobs stop the passage of food and medical supplies into Kahnawake in violation of the government agreement.

A member of the International Human Rights Federation, the group of international observers, has his car attacked by a crowd wielding baseball bats trying to prevent him from entering the Kahnawake reserve. He states "we've never known such difficulties while acting as observers in conflicts in other countries" and "the only persons who have treated me in a civilized way in this matter here in Canada are the Mohawks."

AUGUST 27

Hours after talks are ended by federal and provincial negotiations Mohawks are told that the army will



begin to tear down Mohawk barricades.

The army states it will use force "only if obliged to do so by Warriors", and that it has the force necessary to overwhelm the Mohawks. Mohawks see this as a declaration of war and state "Now that war is being forced upon us, we will turn our hearts and minds to war and it too we will wage with all our might. Ours is a just and honorable position, it flows from our laws and our ways. Our enemies have no such honour."

At approximately 10:30 am??pm??, in Kanesatake, the army aims their guns at Mohawk lines while attempting to move a vehicle into the disputed territory. Within minutes, Mohawk people confront the army move and the area is swarmed by reporters. The army immediately lowers their weapons and retreats their threatening advance.

AUGUST 28

As families attempt to leave the Kahnawake territory, a racist mob of 500 throws rocks and bottles at them. Windshields are broken and many people are injured, including a small baby hit in the face by a rock.

Despite their initially only being a few demonstrators, police let the crowd build by slowly checking the identification of everyone attempting to leave Kahnawake, even babies.

In order to instill an image of the Warriors as terrorists, a military video of the Warriors armed fortifications and weaponry is shown to the federal cabinet and the media.

Mulroney warns that time is up and that the army will invade very soon.

In Toronto, 12 protesters are arrested outside the federal government office downtown. Later 800 supporters tie up rush-hour traffic while marching to a large rally at Queen's Park.

AUGUST 29

Army and Mohawks work together to dismantle barricades on the Mercier Bridge. It is not known whether this is as a result of talks or an agreement on the front lines. The Mercier Bridge could be open in a couple of days.

Mohawks in Kanesatake state that their barricades will remain intact.

AUGUST 30

Natives see that once again their trust has been violated as the army announces the Natives will bring down barricades themselves with the army helping only when necessary. As a result work on dismantling the barricades stops and talks between the army and Mohawks collapse.

AUGUST 31

In a gesture of good faith, Mohawks of Kahnawake begin, once again, to dismantle the barricades on the Mercier Bridge.

CP Rail files a note of its intent to sue 2 Native bands that blocked its rail lines. In a statement, it said it would sue the Pays Plat Ojibwa Band for \$37-million to recover damages caused by their 3-day rail blockade.

In West Berlin, people occupy the Canadian Military consulate in an action of solidarity with the Mohawk people.

SEPTEMBER 1

Armored personnel carriers and army troops backed by helicopters and tailed by a town bus filled with provincial police dressed in riot gear begin their advance on Kanesatake. By 10:30 am, the military reaches the pine forest just outside of the disputed golf course area and soldiers fire 5 shots nearly hitting several people as they advance.

Verbal confrontations ensue between soldiers and retreating Mohawks as army continues to advance in the territory. By 1:00 pm, the army had reached and surrounded a community centre filled with 100 Mohawks.

Joe Armstrong dies of what is believed to be heart failure as a result of being stoned by a racist mob on August 28.

SEPTEMBER 2

At 8:15 pm, the army reaches and takes control of the last remaining Kanesatake barricade on Highway 344. Soldiers backed by armored personnel carriers quickly surround the area with barbed wire and by night fall, the main Mohawk barricade made of large logs, dirt and police vehicles commandeered from the abortive July 11 raid, is dismantled.

Mohawks retreat to their headquarters (formerly an alcohol treatment centre) about 270 metres from the barricade and begin to fortify their defenses by digging trenches. Mohawks invite 13 journalists to the headquarters to witness the anticipated assault.

Troops clear the last of the Mohawk barricades on the Mercier Bridge and choose to occupy it, rather than

open it up immediately.

SEPTEMBER 3

Army begins to move in at 7:30 am and within 30 minutes, soldiers and 35 armored vehicles position themselves approximately 40 metres from trenches around Mohawk headquarters. Mohawks respond to the move by further fortifying their perimeter by digging more trenches and by downing large trees.

As part of the army's campaign of psychological warfare, soldiers set up huge floodlights shining in the Mohawk headquarters windows 24 hours a day and denies access of food, medical supplies and Native advisors.

QPP begin to set up check points in various locations around Oka. Curt Lessar, a Mohawk is arrested trying to cross a checkpoint after leaving a nearby foodbank where about 50 Mohawk people have been holed up since the army invasion. He is charged with 10 offenses.

It is discovered that 2 other Mohawks, Dennis LaFrance and Gabriel Sicotte, have also been arrested. Police refuse to given information on how many people have been arrested so far.

At 6:30 pm, army troops, followed closely by SQ invade Kahnawake and head straight for the Longhouse, a sacred Native meeting place. Troops also encircle a cookhouse where 35 wimmin form a human barricade in an attempt to stop troops from advancing. Police question about 75 people once inside the Longhouse. Three are injured in the combined military/police assault and are taken to the hospital. One womyn had her ribs broken after being smashed with the butt of a rifle.

In Akwasasne, the Native territory which was the site of a police invasion just this past May, Natives demonstrating in solidarity with Mohawks behind barricades overturn 2 QPP cars and smash the windows of a police trailer.

About 50 members of the Alderville Indian Band disrupt traffic on Highway 45 with pick-up trucks and cars slowing down traffic to a near crawl.

SEPTEMBER 4

In an act of solidarity, Chippewa Natives down 5, 40-metre high hydro electric towers between London, Ontario and Lambton generating plant near Samia cutting power at 2:22 am. Damage is estimated at up to \$750,000.

At 3:15 pm, Mohawk wimmin in Kanesatake respond to the army's attempt to inch their barricade of razor wire forward by pushing a wooden barrier in front of it. The wimmin are successful in getting the army to return the razor wire to the former position. Verbal confrontations between Mohawks and the army ensue as soldiers rush to the scene taking positions along the wire.

Police display arms which they claim were seized during the raid on the Kahnawake Longhouse. Mohawks respond to this police attempt to discredit Mohawks and justify the assault on Longhouse, in which 3 people were hospitalized, by releasing a communique stating the weapons do not belong to them. Police are challenged to show pictures of the weapons at the site of seizure which is common police procedure.

Highway 6, just south of Tobermory, Ontario is blocked by over 100 Native people from Cape Croker and Saugeen territories.

Natives of the Six Nations territory begin a blockade of Highway 54 where it runs through their territory.

SEPTEMBER 5

The army further increases its stranglehold on Kanesatake territory by stringing razor wire across the Ottawa River to snare boats that attempt to leave.

A shoving match ensues between a soldier and a Mohawk who attempted to retrieve a mirror from behind

barricades which the army had stolen at an earlier date. Although unsuccessful, the Mohawk evaded a soldier's attempts to detain him. The Mohawks had been using the giant mirror to reflect the floodlights the army has focussed on the Mohawk headquarters.

Natives on the Bruce Trail Peninsula add logs to their barricades across Highway 6.

Natives of the Six Nations territory blockade highway and rail lines through their land.

SEPTEMBER 6

Mercier Bridge is re-opened to traffic but army forces maintain their presence in the area.

SEPTEMBER 7

Capitalist press identifies and publishes names of some individual Warriors.

Peigan Natives, fire warning shots to prevent RCMP from moving in environment crews and heavy equipment onto the site where they have been working for over a month to divert the Oldman River, in an effort to stop the government dam project there. This \$350-million project, which is 75% complete, will flood and destroy Native lands.

Natives offer a 9-point plan for cessation of hostilities; the plan is rejected by the Canadian government.

SEPTEMBER 8

Ontario court grants an interim injunction banning Six Nations Natives from blocking a CN Rail spur line through Brantford and Highway 54.

CBC pulls its reporters and tv camera crews from Mohawk headquarters.

An increasing number of Native and non-Native supporters are gathering in a park on the outskirts of Oka.

A warrant is issued for Milton Born With A Tooth. He is charged with the unlawful use and unlawful discharge of a firearm relating to September 7 when Peigan Natives fired warning shots in an attempt to resist police attempts to move heavy equipment and crews entering their Oldman River diversion site.

A 51-year-old Native man at the treatment centre is severely beaten by soldiers who came through the wire. He has lacerations that require stitches and is told he must come out and be treated by army medics, which is totally unacceptable.

SEPTEMBER 9

Six Nations Natives end blockade of CN Rail after court injunction is granted on Saturday.

RCMP leave site where Peigan Natives have been digging a diversion site. The retreat comes after Court of Queen's Bench justice makes a plea for a calming of tensions fearing increased militant resistance to dam project by Natives.

SEPTEMBER 10

A Warrior, Tie Kiertakeroon, who had been hospitalized after September 8th beating by soldiers signs agreement with army allowing himself to be taken to military institution for up to 30 days while police investigate.

SEPTEMBER 11

Bourassa rejects Mohawk peace proposal calling for a joint commission with the Quebec and Canadian governments to investigate events surrounding the stand-off. The proposal also would have the 39 hectares of land that triggered the stand-off turned over to Mohawks. As well, while the investigation commenced, Warriors would be detained by the army. QPP would not be part of investigation because of fear that they are out for revenge.

Tie Kiertakeroon and his companion are taken by military escort from the military compound at Farnham

to the QPP and both are charged with various offenses. Tie Kiertakeroon faces several charges including public mischief, obstruction of justice, possession of a dangerous weapon, disobeying a court order and wearing a disguise.

Subsequent to the rejection of the September 5th offer, Natives present to the government a second proposal to cease the hostilities.

SEPTEMBER 13

At 7:35 pm, army cuts all phone and fax lines to the Treatment Centre and short wave radio contact between Warriors and outside is jammed. Warriors are only able to communicate by cellular phone. The Army informs media that there is no guarantees for their safety and renews its demand for unconditional surrender by Mohawks.

The QPP establishes road blocks at Highways 344 and 640, blocking all access to the solidarity Peace Camp and continues to harass people by stopping and searching all vehicles in the area.

The army cuts off access of prescription drugs to people behind the lines.

SEPTEMBER 14

An official with the Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy states that Natives will strike out at hydro and rail lines across Canada if any Mohawk blood is spilled in an armed stand-off, stating "they can't guard it all!"

In retaliation for having their phone lines cut, Warriors disconnect an army hotline that is used for direct talks with army officials, leaving them with only cellular phones.

Army personnel vehicles and approximately 300 SQ and 10 SQ vans close highway 132 off to traffic and proceed to carry out raids on buildings in the area.

SEPTEMBER 15

A court injunction is awarded allowing the QPP to cut off cellular communication from the Warrior compound which means great difficulty for the news media to get photos and stories out.

Canadian Association of Journalists issues statements denouncing the cutting of journalists' phone lines.

SEPTEMBER 18

At approximately 2:45 pm, under the pretext of searching for weapons, a combined force of army and police invade Kahnawake. Soldiers fire approximately 10-20 warning shots and fire tear gas directly into the crowd of 300 Mohawks. With nowhere to retreat, dozens of men, womyn and children jump into the frigid St. Lawrence river to escape the burning gas. 75 Mohawks (some of them small children and the elderly) and 19 soldiers are injured.

In Oka, tempers briefly flare as a Warrior, in plain view of soldiers, cuts through razor wire to walk onto the beach and retrieves 2 army smoke cannisters. Later, soldiers, with bayonets affixed stand watch as another group repairs the broken wire.

SEPTEMBER 19

The army says it will not let the resistance yesterday prevent them from continuing their search for hidden weapons in Kahnawake. Mohawks state further confrontations will be met with strong resistance.

SEPTEMBER 20

Canadian Civil Liberties Association calls for an inquiry into the actions of the army in Quebec as it is charged with violating the Charter of Rights. The Association also calls on Bill McKnight, Minister of Defense, to reinstate telephone communications for journalists.

The Deputy Premier of Quebec, speaking in the absence of the vacationing Premier, states that the prov-

after it is learned that the army intends to extend their perimeter into the demilitarized zone separating both barricades.

The Pic Mobert Band receives a court injunction to dismantle their 4-day old barricade.

AUGUST 21

Just as the Pic Mobert Band blockade of the CP rail line in White River is coming down and trains are once again beginning to move, natives on the Pay Plat Native territory (120 km northeast of Thunder Bay) erect a barricade on CP Rail's main line, effectively bringing trains to a halt once again. CP Rail immediately seeks a court injunction to have the blockade removed.

AUGUST 22

An ambulance transporting a Mohawk womyn experiencing serious complications after early morning childbirth, and her newborn, is stopped by a racist mob while attempting to cross the Mercier Bridge en route to a hospital in Montreal. The mob demands to see inside the ambulance for proof of the legitimacy of the emergency. After about an hour of delay, during which time the womyn is severely hemorrhaging, the ambulance is allowed to pass through on to the Bridge where she is transferred to a Montreal ambulance.

At approximately 4:15 pm, 8 Kahnawake Mohawks returning from work arrive at the barricade at Route 207 only to find a crowd of racist demonstrators. In order to avoid incident, the Mohawks decide to proceed to the access route to Kahnawake on Highway 132. However, they arrive at this access point only to find another racist mob. Here the Mohawks attempt entry into their territory. As they pass the crowd, a rock is thrown at the lead Mohawk vehicle. The vehicle stops, the men get out and a fight ensues. The SQ observe the racist attack from inside their cars and do nothing. Three or four army soldiers approach the Mohawks and tell them to enter the neutral zone. The soldiers then take the Mohawks identification cards and give them to the SQ. During this time, a representative of the Kahnawake justice committee arrives and informs the Mohawk men that the SQ has laid 8 charges against them. At this time, the SQ insists they are under arrest. Three of the men resist and cross over Mohawk barricades. The other five are taken into custody.

Later, in Chateaugay, a racist mob attacks a Vancouver-based photographer of Mexican descent, mistakenly believing he is a Mohawk. The mob kicks and spits on him shouting racist slurs and forces him to expose his film.

AUGUST 23

In an early morning manoeuvre, the army advances its military position 1-1/2 km closer to the west-end front of Kanesatake.

At 9:30 am, a bus transporting Mohawk negotiators to a Trapist Monastery in the town of Oka is surrounded by 4 army tanks and 60 calibre guns are aimed in at the occupants.

Another group of negotiators from the Akwasasne Mohawk territory are also detained and refused access to the area.

AUGUST 24

Negotiations enter a critical stage as representatives specifically address the removal of barricades in Kahnawake and Kanesatake

Racist mobs, some armed with baseball bats and iron bars gather around Kahnawake and prevent food and medical supplies from entering the territory.

In Kanesatake, the army advances its position within 20 km of Mohawk barricades jeopardizing deli-

cate negotiations.

AUGUST 25

Negotiations are suspended as the government continues to refuse to recognize Mohawks as members of a sovereign nation.

AUGUST 26

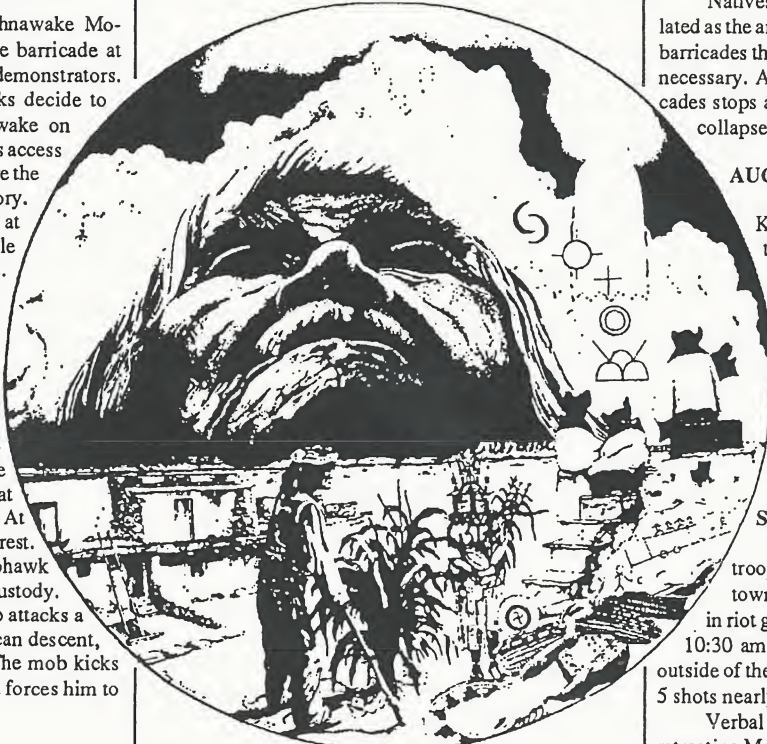
Mohawks begin to consider opening up a lane on the Mercier Bridge to allow the passage of traffic.

Canadian troops and QPP stand by as non-Native mobs stop the passage of food and medical supplies into Kahnawake in violation of the government agreement.

A member of the International Human Rights Federation, the group of international observers, has his car attacked by a crowd wielding baseball bats trying to prevent him from entering the Kahnawake reserve. He states "we've never known such difficulties while acting as observers in conflicts in other countries" and "the only persons who have treated me in a civilized way in this matter here in Canada are the Mohawks."

AUGUST 27

Hours after talks are ended by federal and provincial negotiations Mohawks are told that the army will



begin to tear down Mohawk barricades.

The army states it will use force "only if obliged to do so by Warriors", and that it has the force necessary to overwhelm the Mohawks. Mohawks see this as a declaration of war and state "Now that war is being forced upon us, we will turn our hearts and minds to war and it too we will wage with all our might. Ours is a just and honorable position, it flows from our laws and our ways. Our enemies have no such honour."

At approximately 10:30 am??pm??, in Kanesatake, the army aims their guns at Mohawk lines while attempting to move a vehicle into the disputed territory. Within minutes, Mohawk people confront the army move and the area is swarmed by reporters. The army immediately lowers their weapons and retreats their threatening advance.

AUGUST 28

As families attempt to leave the Kahnawake territory, a racist mob of 500 throws rocks and bottles at them. Windshields are broken and many people are injured, including a small baby hit in the face by a rock.

Despite their initially only being a few demonstrators, police let the crowd build by slowly checking the identification of everyone attempting to leave Kahnawake, even babies.

In order to instill an image of the Warriors as terrorists, a military video of the Warriors armed fortifications and weaponry is shown to the federal cabinet and the media.

Mulroney warns that time is up and that the army will invade very soon.

In Toronto, 12 protesters are arrested outside the federal government office downtown. Later 800 supporters tie up rush-hour traffic while marching to a large rally at Queen's Park.

AUGUST 29

Army and Mohawks work together to dismantle barricades on the Mercier Bridge. It is not known whether this is as a result of talks or an agreement on the frontlines. The Mercier Bridge could be open in a couple of days.

Mohawks in Kanesatake state that their barricades will remain intact.

AUGUST 30

Natives see that once again their trust has been violated as the army announces the Natives will bring down barricades themselves with the army helping only when necessary. As a result work on dismantling the barricades stops and talks between the army and Mohawks collapse.

AUGUST 31

In a gesture of good faith, Mohawks of Kahnawake begin, once again, to dismantle the barricades on the Mercier Bridge.

CP Rail files a note of its intent to sue 2 Native bands that blocked its rail lines. In a statement, it said it would sue the Pays Plat Ojibwa Band for \$37-million to recover damages caused by their 3-day rail blockade.

In West Berlin, people occupy the Canadian Military consulate in an action of solidarity with the Mohawk people.

SEPTEMBER 1

Armored personnel carriers and army troops backed by helicopters and tailed by a town bus filled with provincial police dressed in riot gear begin their advance on Kanesatake. By 10:30 am, the military reaches the pine forest just outside of the disputed golf course area and soldiers fire 5 shots nearly hitting several people as they advance.

Verbal confrontations ensue between soldiers and retreating Mohawks as army continues to advance in the territory. By 1:00 pm, the army had reached and surrounded a community centre filled with 100 Mohawks.

Joe Armstrong dies of what is believed to be heart failure as a result of being stoned by a racist mob on August 28.

SEPTEMBER 2

At 8:15 pm, the army reaches and takes control of the last remaining Kanesatake barricade on Highway 344. Soldiers backed by armored personnel carriers quickly surround the area with barbed wire and by night fall, the main Mohawk barricade made of large logs, dirt and police vehicles commandeered from the abortive July 11 raid, is dismantled.

Mohawks retreat to their headquarters (formerly an alcohol treatment centre) about 270 metres from the barricade and begin to fortify their defenses by digging trenches. Mohawks invite 13 journalists to the headquarters to witness the anticipated assault.

Troops clear the last of the Mohawk barricades on the Mercier Bridge and choose to occupy it, rather than

open it up immediately.

SEPTEMBER 3

Army begins to move in at 7:30 am and within 30 minutes, soldiers and 35 armored vehicles position themselves approximately 40 metres from trenches around Mohawk headquarters. Mohawks respond to the move by further fortifying their perimeter by digging more trenches and by downing large trees.

As part of the army's campaign of psychological warfare, soldiers set up huge floodlights shining in the Mohawk headquarters windows 24 hours a day and denies access of food, medical supplies and Native advisors.

QPP begin to set up check points in various locations around Oka. Curt Lessar, a Mohawk is arrested trying to cross a checkpoint after leaving a nearby foodbank where about 50 Mohawk people have been holed up since the army invasion. He is charged with 10 offenses.

It is discovered that 2 other Mohawks, Dennis LaFrance and Gabriel Sicotte, have also been arrested. Police refuse to given information on how many people have been arrested so far.

At 6:30 pm, army troops, followed closely by SQ invade Kahnawake and head straight for the Longhouse, a sacred Native meeting place. Troops also encircle a cookhouse where 35 wimmin form a human barricade in an attempt to stop troops from advancing. Police question about 75 people once inside the Longhouse. Three are injured in the combined military/police assault and are taken to the hospital. One womyn had her ribs broken after being smashed with the butt of a rifle.

In Akwasasne, the Native territory which was the site of a police invasion just this past May, Natives demonstrating in solidarity with Mohawks behind barricades overturn 2 QPP cars and smash the windows of a police trailer.

About 50 members of the Alderville Indian Band disrupt traffic on Highway 45 with pick-up trucks and cars slowing down traffic to a near crawl.

SEPTEMBER 4

In an act of solidarity, Chippewa Natives down 5, 40-metre high hydro electric towers between London, Ontario and Lambton generating plant near Samia cutting power at 2:22 am. Damage is estimated at up to \$750,000.

At 3:15 pm, Mohawk wimmin in Kanesatake respond to the army's attempt to inch their barricade of razor wire forward by pushing a wooden barrier in front of it. The wimmin are successful in getting the army to return the razor wire to the former position. Verbal confrontations between Mohawks and the army ensue as soldiers rush to the scene taking positions along the wire.

Police display arms which they claim were seized during the raid on the Kahnawake Longhouse. Mohawks respond to this police attempt to discredit Mohawks and justify the assault on Longhouse, in which 3 people were hospitalized, by releasing a communique stating the weapons do not belong to them. Police are challenged to show pictures of the weapons at the site of seizure which is common police procedure.

Highway 6, just south of Tobermory, Ontario is blocked by over 100 Native people from Cape Croker and Saugeen territories.

Natives of the Six Nations territory begin a blockade of Highway 54 where it runs through their territory.

SEPTEMBER 5

The army further increases its stranglehold on Kanesatake territory by stringing razor wire across the Ottawa River to snare boats that attempt to leave.

A shoving match ensues between a soldier and a Mohawk who attempted to retrieve a mirror from behind

barricades which the army had stolen at an earlier date. Although unsuccessful, the Mohawk evaded a soldier's attempts to detain him. The Mohawks had been using the giant mirror to reflect the floodlights the army has focussed on the Mohawk headquarters.

Natives on the Bruce Trail Peninsula add logs to their barricades across Highway 6.

Natives of the Six Nations territory blockade highway and rail lines through their land.

SEPTEMBER 6

Mercier Bridge is re-opened to traffic but army forces maintain their presence in the area.

SEPTEMBER 7

Capitalist press identifies and publishes names of some individual Warriors.

Peigan Natives, fire warning shots to prevent RCMP from moving in environment crews and heavy equipment onto the site where they have been working for over a month to divert the Oldman River, in an effort to stop the government dam project there. This \$350-million project, which is 75% complete, will flood and destroy Native lands.

Natives offer a 9-point plan for cessation of hostilities; the plan is rejected by the Canadian government.

SEPTEMBER 8

Ontario court grants an interim injunction banning Six Nations Natives from blocking a CN Rail spur line through Brantford and Highway 54.

CBC pulls its reporters and tv camera crews from Mohawk headquarters.

An increasing number of Native and non-Native supporters are gathering in a park on the outskirts of Oka.

A warrant is issued for Milton Bom With A Tooth. He is charged with the unlawful use and unlawful discharge of a firearm relating to September 7 when Peigan Natives fired warning shots in an attempt to resist police attempts to move heavy equipment and crews entering their Oldman River diversion site.

A 51-year-old Native man at the treatment centre is severely beaten by soldiers who came through the wire. He has lacerations that require stitches and is told he must come out and be treated by army medics, which is totally unacceptable.

SEPTEMBER 9

Six Nations Natives end blockade of CN Rail after court injunction is granted on Saturday.

RCMP leave site where Peigan Natives have been digging a diversion site. The retreat comes after Court of Queen's Bench justice makes a plea for a calming of tensions fearing increased militant resistance to dam project by Natives.

SEPTEMBER 10

A Warrior, Tie Kiertakeroon, who had been hospitalized after September 8th beating by soldiers signs agreement with army allowing himself to be taken to military institution for up to 30 days while police investigate.

SEPTEMBER 11

Bourassa rejects Mohawk peace proposal calling for a joint commission with the Quebec and Canadian governments to investigate events surrounding the stand-off. The proposal also would have the 39 hectares of land that triggered the stand-off turned over to Mohawks. As well, while the investigation commenced, Warriors would be detained by the army. QPP would not be part of investigation because of fear that they are out for revenge.

Tie Kiertakeroon and his companion are taken by military escort from the military compound at Farnham

to the QPP and both are charged with various offenses. Tie Kiertakeroon faces several charges including public mischief, obstruction of justice, possession of a dangerous weapon, disobeying a court order and wearing a disguise.

Subsequent to the rejection of the September 5th offer, Natives present to the government a second proposal to cease the hostilities.

SEPTEMBER 13

At 7:35 pm, army cuts all phone and fax lines to the Treatment Centre and short wave radio contact between Warriors and outside is jammed. Warriors are only able to communicate by cellular phone. The Army informs media that there is no guarantees for their safety and renews its demand for unconditional surrender by Mohawks.

The QPP establishes road blocks at Highways 344 and 640, blocking all access to the solidarity Peace Camp and continues to harass people by stopping and searching all vehicles in the area.

The army cuts off access of prescription drugs to people behind the lines.

SEPTEMBER 14

An official with the Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy states that Natives will strike out at hydro and rail lines across Canada if any Mohawk blood is spilled in an armed stand-off, stating "they can't guard it all!"

In retaliation for having their phone lines cut, Warriors disconnect an army hotline that is used for direct talks with army officials, leaving them with only cellular phones.

Army personnel vehicles and approximately 300 SQ and 10 SQ vans close highway 132 off to traffic and proceed to carry out raids on buildings in the area.

SEPTEMBER 15

A court injunction is awarded allowing the QPP to cut off cellular communication from the Warrior compound which means great difficulty for the news media to get photos and stories out.

Canadian Association of Journalists issues statements denouncing the cutting of journalists' phone lines.

SEPTEMBER 18

At approximately 2:45 pm, under the pretext of searching for weapons, a combined force of army and police invade Kahnawake. Soldiers fire approximately 10-20 warning shots and fire tear gas directly into the crowd of 300 Mohawks. With nowhere to retreat, dozens of men, womyn and children jump into the frigid St. Lawrence river to escape the burning gas. 75 Mohawks (some of them small children and the elderly) and 19 soldiers are injured.

In Oka, tempers briefly flare as a Warrior, in plain view of soldiers, cuts through razor wire to walk onto the beach and retrieves 2 army smoke cannisters. Later, soldiers, with bayonets affixed stand watch as another group repairs the broken wire.

SEPTEMBER 19

The army says it will not let the resistance yesterday prevent them from continuing their search for hidden weapons in Kahnawake. Mohawks state further confrontations will be met with strong resistance.

SEPTEMBER 20

Canadian Civil Liberties Association calls for an inquiry into the actions of the army in Quebec as it is charged with violating the Charter of Rights. The Association also calls on Bill McKnight, Minister of Defense, to reinstate telephone communications for journalists.

The Deputy Premier of Quebec, speaking in the absence of the vacationing Premier, states that the prov-

ince is not responsible for the army's actions, in direct contradiction to earlier statements by Premier Bourassa that the province is responsible.

SEPTEMBER 24

As the opposition airs their criticisms of the crisis in Parliament, the government states it will not negotiate further with Mohawks until they surrender all arms and ignored the call for the resignation of Native Affairs Minister Tom Siddon.

SEPTEMBER 25

Native spokesperson Bob Antone states that most of the Warriors held up near Oka will turn themselves over to the army in the next day or two unless the army's intimidation tactics trigger more hostilities. Antone states "We are deciding to disengage to end the hostilities. We are not given much alternative to that. This is not

a surrender."

A Warrior states that if the Quebec and Canadian governments refuse to negotiate once Warriors walk out, it's up to the Canadian people to force them to keep their word and negotiators hint that a failure to act in good faith might cause barricades to once again go up in Kahnawake and Kanesatake when the weather warms up.

SEPTEMBER 26

Warriors abandon treatment centre in Kanesatake just before nightfall but in a final act of defiance turn to the left and head towards Oka instead of to the right into the hands of the military as previously agreed. In an attempt to gain control of the situation soldiers and police surround individual warriors and some are tackled before being handcuffed and thrown into police cruisers. Soldiers carry their rifles with bayonets af-

fixed. Other Warriors and wimmin are thrown to the ground amidst cries and screams before being loaded onto 2 military buses which takes them to a military base south of Montreal. In total 16 wimmin, 6 children and 28 men are taken into military custody; 3 Warriors are taken into police custody. As well 3 journalists are handcuffed and taken into police custody. Warriors maintain they're surrendering because this particular fight is over and Canadians now know that Natives will resist. In Kahnawake 400 Mohawks armed with baseball bats, rocks, shields and molotov cocktails gather to protest the treatment of surrendering Mohawks. Soldiers at a checkpoint near the Mercier bridge are pelted with rocks and bottles by Mohawks. More soldiers are called in and they are ordered to take aim at the Mohawks, causing the crowd to withdraw.

Twenty Years After October...

In the wake of the racist reaction of some white Quebecois to the barricades at Kanesatake and Kahnawake, the English Canadian media was quick to point out the hypocrisy of the Quebecois demand for national sovereignty while denying the right of Native peoples to do the same. This was by no means an acknowledgment of the legitimacy of Native struggles but simply a continuation of attacking the Quebecois struggle for self-determination.

A renewed movement for Quebec independence began to emerge in the 60's with its root in the many struggles taking place at this time. Anglo-Canadian and American corporate interests dominated the Quebec economy, which resulted in high unemployment amongst Quebecois workers and a standard of living well below the poverty line. As a result of this domination the movement for Quebec independence was also a movement for social change and for the liberation of the working class (which represented 90% of the Quebecois). The movement had a broad base ranging from the bourgeois Parti Quebecois to the radical leftist groups.

Some Quebecois felt that Quebec independence could only be achieved through revolution and formed the Front de Liberation du Quebec (FLQ). From 1963 to 1972 the FLQ carried out numerous actions in the form of bombings, bank robberies, armoury raids and political kidnappings. The majority were aimed at attacking Anglo-Canadian/American symbols of colonialism as well as supporting the militant labour struggles taking place at the time. The FLQ not only developed a national liberation perspective but a class one as well, realizing that the liberation of Quebec would only come about with the liberation of the working class of which they were a part. They also built links with other liberation movements such as the Black Panther Party, the IRA, ETA and so on.

The actions of the FLQ culminated in 1970 with the kidnapping of a British diplomat by a FLQ cell. The reading of the FLQ manifesto on national television and radio was met with the widespread support of the Quebecois working class. A few days later another FLQ cell kidnapped the Quebec Minister of Labour (and a few days later executed him). The Prime Minister of Canada responded by declaring the War Measures Act which saw the declaration of martial law and over 7000 Canadian troops occupying the streets of Quebec. Almost 500 people were arrested and held without charges being laid and thousands of raids took place. The declaration of the War Measures Act was not to prevent the "insurrection" that the government claimed was about to take place but to strike a blow against the broader independence movement which was becoming more radicalized, in part by the actions of the FLQ. Consequently, most FLQ members were captured and the armed clandestine

movement suffered a defeat from which it never recovered. The independence movement also lost its radical and revolutionary nature.

Today, the poverty of the Quebecois working class is the same as it was prior to the events of 1970. However, the political conditions are not the same. The victory of the Parti Quebecois (bourgeois nationalists) in the 1976 provincial elections allowed for the creation of the specifically Quebecois ruling class and bourgeois. This ruling class has retained power to this day.

The Quebec ruling class of the present understands the power of nationalism and has revived it to use the Quebecois population as support for the bourgeois demands of independent management of Quebec capital. The Quebec political class has hijacked nationalism and the desire for self-determination of a people, colonized for 200 years, for their own ends.

This past summer prior to the events at Oka, saw 250,000 Quebecois march through the streets calling for independence from Canada. Unfortunately the movement for Quebec independence is, for the most part, single issue and has no semblance of radicalism.

October 1990 marked the 20th anniversary of the declaration of the War Measures Act. Below we reprint a statement by the Octobre Chaud (Hot October) coalition, a group formed to commemorate the events of October 1970, on Quebec sovereignty in relation to Native sovereignty. The group was comprised of former FLQ members and their supporters. While not denying that racism exists amongst white Quebecois we feel that some of the left espoused the capitalist media's view that all Quebecois are racist and attacked Native sovereignty. This was not the case as many progressive Quebecois labour and social change groups came out in support of the Mohawks and organized demonstrations and other actions. The Octobre Chaud statement puts this into perspective when they declare "there will be no 'free Quebec' without the liberation of Native peoples".

The Quebec after Kanesatake, more so than the Quebec after Meech, will never be the same. The Native crisis, triggered by the attack against the Mohawks of Kanesatake and Kahnawake by the Surete du Quebec and the Canadian Army, has opened a new chapter of our history. From now on, the Native question can never be dissociated with the future of Quebec, which implies an in-depth transformation of the society that we know. Meanwhile, by choosing armed force to address Native claims, the State chose the worst option: that of the blind leading the blind to the edge of a high cliff.

Like in October 1970, the recourse to the use of the armed forces against the Mohawks of Kanesatake and Kahnawake, is an unforgivable act. Once again, the message put forth by the political class of Quebec and

Canada is that the State gives itself the right to choose life or death for "its" citizens. The recourse to the army has brutally unmasked the true face of statist violence and the irresponsibility which the politicians are guilty of. In this context of "War Measures", like always, it's democracy, liberty, solidarity and justice which lose the most.

A Series Of Insane Acts

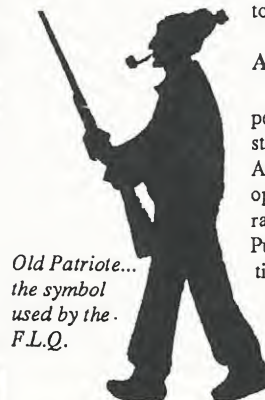
During the Native crisis, military intervention was launched following a series of insane acts.

1. The obstination of a minority of whites to want to enlarge at all costs a golf course onto ancestral Mohawk territory.
2. The failed attack of 1200 agents of the S.Q. on July 11, 1990.
3. Labelling the Mohawk Warriors "a gang of criminals".
4. The refusal to recognize the historic rights, territorial and national, of Native peoples.
5. Relegating the 1st Nations to a simple cultural minority "like all others".
6. The refusal to see in the rapid radicalization of Native militancy a major crisis, not only in Quebec and Canada, but everywhere in the Americas.
7. The refusal to recognize the exasperation of the poorest social group.
8. Finally, the recourse to the armed forces to compensate for the lack of historical education and incompetence of politicians.

All of this can't help but recall the events of October 1970. Twenty years ago, the powers that be refused to, like today, recognize the national and political rights of the Quebecois whom they relegated to a "cultural minority like all others". In 1990, it is Native peoples that the State intends to "put in their place"... unfortunately with myopic support of one too many Quebecois.

A Long Struggle

Parallel to the independent and revolutionary struggles against European Americans, which developed from Quebec to Nicaragua, from Acadia to Puerto Rico, Native liberation struggles renew themselves today with a long history of uprisings against white colo-



Old Patriote...
the symbol
used by the
F.L.Q.

continued on the
next page

Solidarity To The Mohawk Nation

From the Resistance Conspiracy Case defendants

We send our solidarity to the people of the Mohawk Nation in your struggle for your lands and sovereignty. We send our deepest respect to the Clan-mothers, chiefs, the Warriors Society and all of the courageous women, men and children who stand fast at the barricades of Kanesatake and Kahnawake.

Since the Arawak first discovered Columbus on their beach 500 years ago the Europeans' hunger for native land has never dulled. Turtle Mountain was carved up into territories; the territories were reduced to reservations; now they want the reservations, too, and they are pushing native peoples toward the penitentiaries and genocide. But against this momentum stands your resistance which refuses to die: Wounded Knee, Big Mountain, Lubicon Lake, Akwesasne, Kanesatake. The resistance of indigenous peoples against extermination, for land and communal life defines the struggle for a just society among all people living in the Americas. In the 1990's it has come to define the struggle for survival for all of us on this planet.

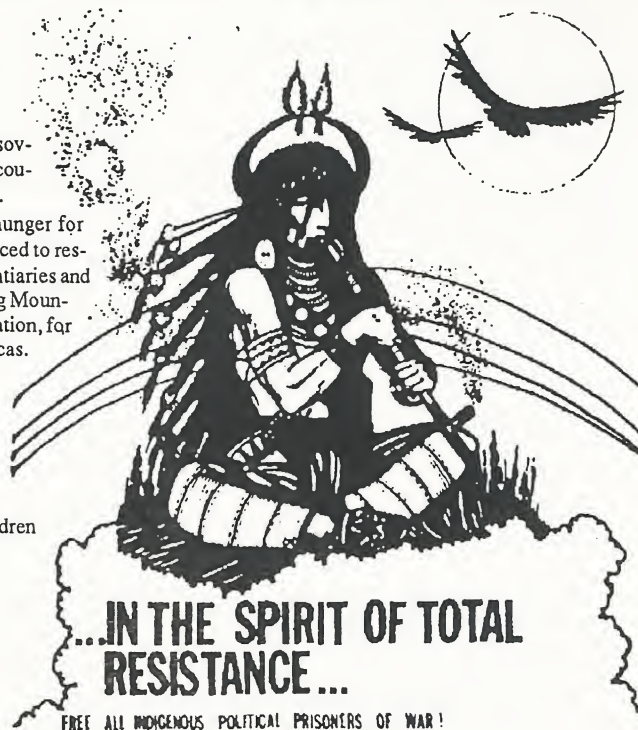
As white anti-imperialist political prisoners incarcerated for armed revolutionary solidarity with national liberation movements inside and outside U.S. borders, we only regret that we cannot be there with you or in the growing number of places in North America where comrades are building barricades to stop the routine workings of white supremacy and greed. But along with the other 150 political prisoners and prisoners of war in the U.S. our spirits soar with yours. From these heights above the prison walls, above the military blockade of Kanesatake we can see a future for all our children based in self-determination, mutual respect and the tenderness of human solidarity.

LAND AND SOVEREIGNTY FOR ALL INDIGENOUS PEOPLES!
FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS AND P.O.W.'S!

Marilyn Buck
Susan Rosenberg

Laura Whitehorn
Alan Berkman

Linda Evans
Tim Blunk



Tear Down The Walls!

We received this letter from a group of Native prisoners, detailing their struggle against prison authorities. Native peoples represent a disproportionate amount of the prison population in Canada when you compare their imprisonment rate to rest of the Canadian population. There is an ongoing struggle by imprisoned Natives for their right to practice traditional and spiritual customs. This letter represents only part of this struggle that is occurring in prisons across Canada.

They also sent a statement of solidarity to the Mohawk people which we do not have the space to reprint here.

Greetings,

We, the Sacred Circle Society, representing the Native brothers at the Atlantic Institution, Renous, New Brunswick, are seeking your assistance in a battle against the federal government, particularly the Correctional Services of Canada.

Specifically, we require the assistance of our Elders, Leaders, Warriors and friends, to win a battle against forces which are inherently opposed to our traditions and customs.

To win our struggle, we urgently require unity; we need to be united like the earth and trees. (Yes! Just as we were rooted as one against the Meech Lake Accord.)

We will now tell you why we are in battle against our Keepers, the Correctional Service of Canada:

Unanimously it has been decided to stop all talks with our Keepers at Atlantic Institution. And because we are fed up with their incessant demonstration of disrespect for our spirituality and, in general, our down-to-earth way of life.

The disrespect is unacceptable to the leadership and members of our Scared Circle Society. And in seeking your support, the following is an outline description of encounters with our Keepers:

Via underlings, the Warden has communicated to our Society that he would dissolve its leadership and forbid council meetings, if we continued to table political issues respecting the concern of native brothers. This is, of course, infinitely more than just disrespect. It is in

essence a most serious threat which must be taken seriously.

Moreover, our Keepers, deliberately approved an inmate-family social on the very date that it was known in advance a Pow-wow was to take place. This act could have created racial tension, if our Society had not recognized the scheme of things. Hence, discretion being the part of valor, the Pow-wow was cancelled.

It was also communicated to our Society that we could not engage legal counsel. Additionally respecting spiritual ceremonies per se, the Correctional Service of Canada, National Headquarters, tell us that the Warden has the last say on whether or not we are the recipients of our inmate needs.

Needless to say we are greatly disadvantaged, hence this doubles the need of your assistance. Even a letter will bolster our determination to overcome what is tantamount to the annihilation of our spirit.

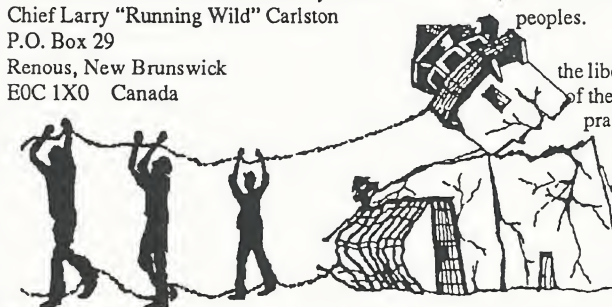
In near conclusion, please accept our thanks for draining the Meech Lake Accord. And we hope that our support was communicated to the free world of our ancestors by the wind. And who but the likes of our keepers, would not be proud of our brother, Elijah Harper.

Thank you for hearing our words from the heart-beat of our Scared Circle Society.

In the Spirit of Crazy Horse,
Running Wild

To contact the Scared Circle Society write:

Chief Larry "Running Wild" Carlston
P.O. Box 29
Renous, New Brunswick
E0C 1X0 Canada



Twenty Years After October... continued

nizers who, during the conquest, stripped American Indian peoples of their land and dignity. A history which given all evidence, is far from over.

The most recent events at Kanesatake and Kahnawake have forcibly reminded us that the structure of ingrained inequality in Quebec and Canada is also founded on racial and national discrimination. Racism and apartheid are not limited to South Africa and Israel. They have existed here since the arrival of the first white Europeans. Many were surprised by the virulent racism unleashed against the Mohawk people. This explosion of racism, fed as much by nationalist and federalist elements, shows that Quebec society is not sheltered from these fratricidal forms of hatred, which have often lead to the worst social and political deadlocks.

The Native claims focused on the recognizing of land and national rights, the free usage and revalorization of native languages, and for equitable compensation for the ecological disasters caused to their lands. These claims have opened everywhere in the Americas a new political space where national, ecological and class struggles can be articulated.

In this context, it is extremely important that progressive forces align themselves and extend solidarity to the Native movement. First of all, because the future of Quebec can't be redefined without the participation and the agreement of the First Nations. Secondly, because the quality of social relations in Quebec, like elsewhere in America, rests on our ability to establish veritable relations of equality, solidarity and friendship with Native peoples.

There will be no "free Quebec" without the liberation of Native peoples, and consequently, of the white population, always prisoner of its old practice of apartheid.

Coinciding with the 20th anniversary of the War Measures Act of 1970, the military intervention against Natives of Kanesatake and Kahnawake invites us to a debate on our own collective future and on the society we intend to pass to future generations.

Communiqués...

TO ALL OF OUR FRIENDS AND SUPPORTERS

On Thursday, September 28, 1990, the Rotickan-nenketeh, women, children and their allies who have managed the heroic stand-off at the Treatment Center will unilaterally terminate hostilities.

After several attempts at trying to find a peaceful and creative solution to the situation we have all realized that we are dealing with an essentially Neanderthal attitude on the part of the Quebec and Canadian governments.

All Native people in Canada need to take note of the clear statements that our people's heroic stand has evoked from Canada and Quebec. On September 25, 1990, Prime Minister Mulroney declared "...Native self-government does not now and cannot ever mean sovereign independence."

This statement is a declaration of Canada's intent to keep Native nations, peoples and their territories in a perpetual state of colonialism and domination. This position leaves us all with but one course of action - the liberation of our nations and peoples.

The siege at the Treatment Center has been only one battle in the long struggle that lies before all of us. Rather than a defeat it has been a victory on many fronts.

First, we have the victory of the unity of Native people across this vast land. From coast to coast our peoples have been inspired by the heroic stand at the Treatment Center and have been moved to action in support of our defenders of the nation.

Secondly, we have moved the international community to recognize the hypocrisy of Canada and its image as a defender of democracy and minority rights. They have been as a "settler state" not unlike South Africa in its repression of indigenous rights and peoples.

Our people are freely choosing to leave the battle field of the Treatment Center in order to be free to wage the on-going struggle on other fronts.

We ask all other Native nations and peoples to join us declaring tomorrow as a day of International Native Solidarity and Celebration. We ask you to organize positive, affirming activities to celebrate the end of this phase and the beginning of the next.

We call upon your prayers throughout tonight and tomorrow to pray for the safety of our people. We call on you to organize pow-wows, parades, demonstrations, what ever you feel is appropriate to mark this historical turning point for the Native Struggle for Liberation.

This is the beginning, not the end. Now, more than ever, we need to reaffirm our unity and our commitment to continue to move forward to the day when our nations regain their rightful places in the world community.

The Haudenosaunee Crisis Committee

FROM THE PEOPLE AT THE TREATMENT CENTRE AT KANEHSATAKE SEPTEMBER 26, 1990

The Mohawk people and their allies are leaving the Treatment Center today to go home and to continue the struggle for the land.

This struggle has brought the issues of the land to the attention of the Canadian public and the world, NOW it is time to take it to the political level, we have tried to do that for the last two months through negotiations but the governments have not had the same mandate.

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney has stated in Parliament before the Country and the world that he and his government are willing to deal with the long terms issues of land and land rights that the Mohawk people have been seeking to deal with since this struggle started in early march.

We are leaving to tell the world the real story of the governments of Quebec and Canada not willing to negotiate a fair and just deal, not the story that has been portrayed by both those governments and the media.

We are going home to continue work within our own nation, the Confederacy, other Indian Nations, Canada, the international level and the world.

No one, especially the governments of Quebec and Canada can take away the victory that has been won by the people at the treatment center at Kanesatake, we have made major steps forward in bringing the land rights issues to the world attention, never again will the governments of Quebec and Canada be able to treat the Indian people of Canada as a mere thorn in the side of this country. The Indian people of this country must be

treated with the respect and dignity that we as sovereign nations that have never been defeated deserve.

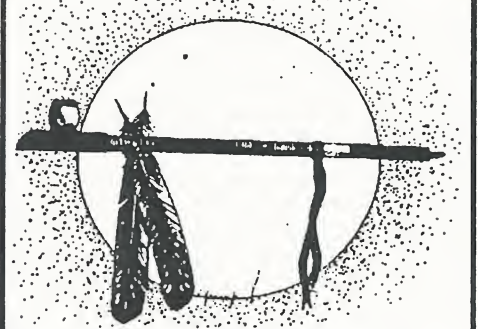
Since the attack on our people July 11, 1990 we have held off the Surete de Quebec, the Canadian Army, the Quebec government and the Canadian government. We have always negotiated in good faith and we have been lied to and denied basic fundamental human rights. The International Federation of Human Rights has witnessed all the violations that have been committed against us by the Surete de Quebec, the Canadian Army, the Quebec government and the Canadian government.

Warrior Society

The American Indian Movement sees itself as a Warrior Society for Indian people. There are various concepts of a warrior society. To White people, the warrior is the armed forces. It's the guy who goes out there and fights and kills for his people; paid soldiers. But Indian people have never had hired killers.

Warrior Society to them means the men and women of the nation who have dedicated themselves to give everything that they have to the people. A warrior should be the first one to go hungry and the last one to eat. He should be the first one to give away his moccasins and the last one to get new ones. That type of feeling among Indian people is what a Warrior Society is all about. He is ready to defend his family in time of war - to hold off any enemy - and be perfectly willing to sacrifice himself to the good of his nation and his people, and that's what we see ourselves as, what we idealistically try to be. That's not saying that we are all completely selfless or any kind of saints, but we try, with the spiritual direction of our holy men, to get ourselves to the point where we don't have the avarice and greed that is so much a part of white society in this land.

We believe that the power of this universe is held within our peace pipe. It is a pipe of peace, a pipe



that at all costs tries to guide us in avoiding any deaths by our own hands, or any violence on the part of the American Indian Movement, and if anyone will check back into the history of the American Indian Movement; though we take a very strong stand for our people, we've never killed anyone. We have never had violence unless violence was perpetrated against us. The real violence in America is committed by the government against our people. The real violence is the fact that on a reservation our women are taken and raped in the back seat of cars.

Our job is to regain our humanity and our spirituality as it once was. Our job is to fight for freedom against oppression. Our job is to fight for land to stand on; land, a part of our Mother Earth which will be our physical and spiritual base.

We are freedom fighters.

By Art Solomon, Elder and Warrior
Member of the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee

We came here to defend the Haudenosaunee position to defend the land, we have committed no crimes in defending our land. We are leaving here with heads held high with pride and dignity in having defended the land and the Haudenosaunee position. We cannot accept Canada's program of self-government as we are already a sovereign nation. We have committed no crimes and if the governments of Canada and Quebec choose to process us a criminals within their laws we are POLITICAL PRISONERS, NOT CRIMINALS.



continued from the front page

fied their tactics of psychological warfare. Large floodlights were erected and focussed on the Mohawk stronghold and helicopters, equipped with search lights were flown over at low levels. Access to prescription drugs was cut. Before long, the army cut Mohawk phone and fax lines and jammed short wave radio communication, demanding unconditional surrender.

It was in this atmosphere of hostile aggression that Mohawks, still defiant, decided to cease hostilities and to take their struggle to a different level.

Despite what some may see as a military victory by the government, the standoff has been victorious on many fronts, the most obvious being, halting the destruction of Mohawk land for the expansion of a golf course. On another level it has brought unity and renewed energy to Native struggles across the country. This has been demonstrated in the actions carried out in solidarity by Natives across the continent. Almost all of these actions have been accompanied by demands of their own and have been characterized by an increased trend in militancy. Throughout the country natives erected rail and road blockades and, in one spectacular show of solidarity, Chippewa natives downed 5 electrical pylon towers causing an estimated \$750,000 in damage. This action demonstrated the possibility of sabotage of the many indefensible natural pipe lines, electrical power lines, hydro dams and rail lines that run through native territories as a tactic for future struggles.

Across the continent, military and corporate development continues its attack on Native communities threatening to cut the last of their lifeline to the earth.

In northern Alberta (a Canadian province), the Lubicon Nation has no reserve settlement despite a fifty year struggle. During the last fifteen years, while the Alberta government has turned a deaf ear to Lubicon land claims, large oil development by multinationals has devastated the land. This has not been met without resistance. In 1988 the Lubicon Nation declared their refusal to recognize the Alberta government's jurisdiction over their land and erected barricades on access routes to the territory.

Now the Lubicons face another attack. After watching their lands and economy be destroyed by oil development, Brewer Construction Limited, a subsidiary of Daishowa has announced its plans to begin logging traditional Lubicon Lands as soon as possible. This is despite an agreement between Daishowa and Lubicons that no logging would take place on lands claimed by the Nation until a settlement has taken place.

Bernard Ominiyak, Chief of the Lubicon Lake Band, has responded to the logging companies announcement of its plans by stating "We have no intention of allowing anybody to steal anymore of our resources, and that includes trees."

In southern Alberta, the Peigan Nation faces the prospects of mass flooding and other ecological damage is expected to result from the completion of the Three Rivers Dam Project. On August 3, the Lonefighters (a

group of Peigans) began excavating a channel to divert the water of the Oldman River in an attempt to render this \$350-million irrigation project, now in its final stages of construction, useless. On September 7, Lonefighters resisted RCMP attempts to move environment crews onto their diversion site by firing warning shots. Not long after, police arrested Milton Born-With-A-Tooth, and he remains in prison today.

Despite this set back, the struggle against the dam continues. Lonefighters and supporters have initiated a new alliance of grassroots Native and non-Native groups tentatively called The Buffalo Alliance. Among other things, the group will focus on freeing POW Milton Born-With-A-Tooth, publish a quarterly magazine and further the development of a resistance movement against exploitation and genocide.

In the southern part of British Columbia (a Canadian province) Lil'wat Natives continue their land title battle. On July 12, a day after the police assault on Mohawk barricades, Lil'wats blockaded a logging road leading to their Mt. Curry reserve (140 kilometres north of Vancouver). This barricade erected to advance their struggle as well as show solidarity with resisting Mohawks lasted nearly 4 months before coming under heavy attack by state forces. On November 6th the RCMP moved on the barricades with front end loaders arresting a total of 63. Since then at least 2 more Natives are known to have been arrested in connection with the blockade.

In the interior of B.C. the Gitskan and Wet'Suwet'en are organizing a massive land title battle involving a total of 22,000 square miles.

In Nitassinin the Innu continue to struggle against military testing in their territory.

In Ontario the Teme-Augama Anishnabai continue to battle attempts by logging companies to destroy old growth forests located on their territories.

In northern Ontario and Quebec the James Bay Cree are resisting government plans for the construction of James Bay 2. Completion of this \$60 billion hydro-electric project will involve deforestation of some 356,000 square miles and destruction of 4 river systems devastating the Native populations that have lived in careful balance with this delicate eco-system for thousands of years.

These are just a few of the better known struggles Natives are waging across the continent. From coast to coast Native communities are fighting countless land title battles. In fact almost 3/4 of the Canadian land base falls under some form of Native land claim.

The Canadian government has made it clear it will not even consider self-determination in its negotiations with First Nations. Sovereignty would mean an end to the colonialist relationship between the Canadian government and First Nations which allows multinationals the unrestricted access to plunder Native lands.

Canada was built through the genocide of Native peoples and the theft of their lands and resources. Today the Canadian economy remains heavily dependent upon


the extraction and processing of these resources. First Nations, exercising political autonomy from settler governments in control of their resources would create a crisis for Canadian capitalism.

As Native struggles in Canada intensify, challenging the Canadian state, it is likely the government will respond with offers of limited self-government. Though it is likely that some First Nations might take this path, seeing it as a step forward and a chance to change the desperate economic situation faced by Natives, it is certain that many more will continue to struggle for the realization of self-determination.

More Native communities are beginning to stand in physical defense of their diminishing lands, resources and culture. Confrontations, like the one this summer, are inevitable. The success of these actions, in advancing Native struggles, will be highly dependent upon Native unity and non-Native support. On an international level this will mean making Canadian ruling class interests abroad the target of protest and attack.

Solidarity Is A Weapon!





Arm The Spirit is an information collective focusing on militant and revolutionary struggles. Our perspective is autonomous but we see a need to discuss and analyse all forms of left resistance in order to contribute to a revolutionary process. We welcome and encourage others to join us in our work.

La Lucha Continual

Defense Fund for Mohawk Sovereignty

After the police attack at Kanesatake and the subsequent siege, a group of solidarity activists in Toronto set up a defense fund that sent material aid to the Mohawk people to assist them with their fight. The money which was raised was relayed through activists in the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee (Toronto) to the Mohawk people to help them get food, medical supplies, fuel, etc.

Now that the siege is over and the barricades are down, the focus of the struggle will now turn towards the upcoming legal battle. As well the Mohawk people are just beginning to rebuild their communities and further the struggle for Native self-determination. It is still essential that aid be sent to help the Mohawks in their

ongoing fight.

An account has been set up (since July) at a collectively-run credit union in Toronto, to help channel funds to the Mohawk people. To date, over \$12,000 has been raised. To contribute, send money to:

Defense Fund for Mohawk Sovereignty
c/o Bread & Roses Credit Union
348 Danforth Ave., Suite 211
Toronto, Ontario
M4K 1N8 Canada

For more information phone: (416) 921 0437

Subscriptions for this bulletin are \$8.00 for 10 issues. We will also be publishing a magazine that will expand upon what we cover in the bulletin. At this moment we have no subscription rate for it but we hope to publish it at least twice a year. The bulletin will come out at least 10 times a year on a near monthly basis. We are also in the process of setting up a small mailorder literature service. Please send \$1 for the mailorder list. We accept cash (conceal it well) or money orders but no cheques. If sending a money order please do not put 'Arm The Spirit' just leave it blank. We look forward to hearing from you.

Arm The Spirit
Box 475, 253 College St.
Toronto, Ont.
M5T 1R5 CANADA